601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

614 554 582 [583] 595 614 615 177 587 611 591 596

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

584 /412 cont./
will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
584 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

/416 cont./

593
586
[797]

/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

593
[587]

/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

593
521
[115]

There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 22. It seems that there is no possibility of
[115] rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178] 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/419 cont./
462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkina* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakü̈dyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 [587] [595] Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

593 [601] [595]

[114] [2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Henéneva* group at the mouth of the Cuduiarí, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 8s). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakü* and *bakü̈dyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON
537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind